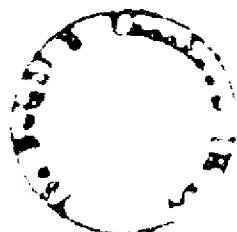


20 November 1958

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SUBJECT: Radio Free Europe



The U. S. Government has never admitted responsibility for the acts or statements of RFE. However, policy guidance has been given RFE and their guidance, with minor deviations, has been followed, as indicated below.

1. In line with National Security Council policy and with the guidance of the Department of State, the policy governing RFE's broadcasts to Hungary and the other satellites was based on the following principal points during the four month period between the publication of Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th CPSU Congress and the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution:
  - a. To encourage peaceful revolutionary changes working toward the liberalization of their institutions.
  - b. To cross-report the progress of anti-Stalinism and the achievement of a degree of liberalization in the several captive nations.
  - c. To take full propaganda advantage of the Tito-Khrushchev declaration in Belgrade (2 June 1955) which states, "questions of internal organization or differences in social systems are solely the concern of the individual countries."

Moreover, no RFE policy directive, in full effect since 12 December 1951,

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these categorically.

"Speakers are invited not to speak as a member of parliament or as one more to their compatriots by providing instead their voices on the BBC. It raises the hopes of our audiences in this location, would be to have a oral interview; it would also encourage further consideration of the present policies of the western powers. Such ideas may not be broadcast on RFI."

The peoples of Hungary and Poland have come to expect to live with the greatest freedom, due to the gradual relaxation of the co-Stalinist regime in both countries of several freedoms.

1. During this period, RFE has said to Free Europe and the world the Hungarian "secret speech" leaders reported massive reactions and the reactions of various opposition party leaders in the USSR to the secret speech gave the play to the Budapest Declaration of "different roads to freedom" and appropriate measures for the rehabilitation of names. This was the attitude communists throughout the satellite area, reported in 1989 that the liberalization process was not taking place and gave the USSR a memorandum of demands to establish greater freedom from Soviet control in Poland.

RFE also broadcast messages of encouragement to the Hungarian President Kiss, Minister Secretary Dr. B. A. G. R. Szabad and other Hungarian leaders, pledging that the cause of the Hungarian freedom struggle would not be abandoned and that the Hungarian people would remain a basic part of Hungarian power. The Hungarian cause in the Senate and the platform of the Hungarian cause to the Hungarian people to captive peoples by political means, was also given to.

2. When the Hungarian revolution began on 11 October 1989, RFE immediately broadcast the news of the Hungarian revolution to the world as a major news item.

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As peaceful demonstrations changed to revolutions, and as various local Hungarian radios fell into the hands of patriots, RFE was given specific authorization to report the broadcasts of such radios throughout the country. We were cautioned to avoid tactical advice and intervention. By this means the greater population outside Budapest became better informed about the course of the uprising since these patriot radios could be heard only in limited areas due to their low power and to Soviet jamming. RFE also broadcast western reactions to Hungarian events, including statements by the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and expressions of solidarity with the patriots on the part of western trade unions, student groups and other leaders and organizations. RFE gave full play to free world reaction against the use of Soviet military repression, and also fully covered the action on the part of the United Nations with respect to Hungary. During this period, RFE also broadcast various appeals in Russian to Soviet troops in Hungary not to fire on the Hungarian people who were fighting for freedom, and urged the withdrawal of such troops from Hungary.

4. As far as can be determined from a review of scripts currently available, no RFE broadcast to Hungary before the revolution could be considered as inciting to armed revolt. No RFE broadcast to Hungary implied promises of American military intervention.

However, after the revolution was well under way, a few of the scripts reviewed do indicate that RFE occasionally went beyond the authorized factual broadcasting of the demands of the patriot radio stations within Hungary to

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Identify itself with these demands and to urge their enforcement. There were no orders of any kind by RFT to provide tactical advice to the parties as to the course the revolution should take and the individuals best qualified to lead it. As soon as these demands became policy were acted, steps were taken to insure rigid supervision of broadcasting content. Plans of the actual broadcasts are expected shortly and will be reviewed by Hungarian language specialists.

### 3. Conclusions:

- a. Policy guidance provided to RFT and by RFT to the Hungarian Government was consistent with U. S. policies toward the revolution. RFT broadcasts were generally consistent with such policies.
- b. From all information available to date, RFT did not urge the Hungarian people to revolution.
- c. From all information available to date, RFT did not directly or by implication offer hope that American military help would be forthcoming to the parties.
- d. RFT broadcasts had several broad specific purposes in identifying itself with Hungarian patriot aims, and in offering certain tactical advice to the parties.
- e. The chronology and nature of events in Hungary and the demands of the Hungarian Government itself prior to its overthrow make it clear that the uprising received from the course of Soviet repression and was finally sparked by the shooting on 11 October of peaceful demonstrators and did not result from any external influences such as RFT broadcasts or Free Europe values.

**TRANSCRIBED PAGE FOLLOWS**

identify itself with these demands and to urge their achievement. There was some evidence of attempt of RFE to provide tactical advice to the patriots as to the course the rebellion should take and the individuals best qualified to lead it. As soon as these deviations from policy were acted steps were taken to insure rigid supervision of broadcasting content. Tapes of the actual broadcasts are expected shortly and will be reviewed by Hungarian language specialists.

3. Conclusions:

- a. Policy guidance provided RFE and by RFE to the Hungarian desk was constant with U.S. policies toward satellites. RFE broadcasts were generally consistent with such policies.
- b. From all information available to date, RFE did not incite the Hungarian people to revolution.
- c. From all information available to date, RFE did not directly or by implication offer hope that American military help would be forthcoming to the patriots.
- d. RFE broadcasts went somewhat beyond specific guidance by identifying itself with Hungarian patriot aims, and in offering certain tactical advice to the patriots.
- e. The chronology and nature of events in Hungary and the statements of the Hungarian government itself prior to its overthrow make it clear that the uprising resulted from ten years of Soviet repression and was finally marked by the shooting on 13 October of peaceful demonstrators, and did not result from any external influence, such as a RFE broadcasts or Free Europe leaflets.